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Comment

Incorporating *Empire*

CHANGES IN WEST AFRICA

CONSTITUTIONAL change is again afoot in West Africa. All the West African territories have reached the stage at which changes follow one another in quick succession until a final transfer of power becomes possible. The pace imposes a severe strain on the British Government. It is less often realised that the strain on the West African peoples is very much greater. Politicians tend to set the pace by announcing targets which it is beyond their organisational capacity to reach; public opinion is stirred up to support their claims; and an atmosphere of hysteria is induced in which toleration of different viewpoints and understanding of minority opinions are the first casualties. At the time of going to press it is not possible to comment fully on the outcome of the London conference on the reform of the Nigerian constitution. An apparent compromise has been reached, at least until January. But the course of the conference revealed that many causes of dissension remain, which friends of Nigeria will hope will be submerged by the end of the year.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the real trouble in Nigeria is the pace that has been set. This does not allow time for programmes to be carried out, for policies to mature, and for groups to align themselves. Thus plenty of opportunity is afforded for opportunism and fluctuating alliances, and unfortunately Nigeria has many politicians who avail themselves of this opportunity. The pace is even more rapid in the Gold Coast, but the problems of the country are not nearly so diverse, and the method of handling them has been quite different. The Prime Minister of the Gold Coast has a well-organised party behind him, and has established a Government which is prepared to take full responsibility for proposing constitutional changes. When Nigeria can produce such a Government, independence will become a reality,

and not until. This basic fact cannot be concealed by any number of conferences, whatever their decisions.

This has been grasped in the smaller territories, where the pace is leisurely. Sierra Leone did not achieve a ministerial system until April, and executive control of departments still remains in the hands of their civil service heads; there is no Prime Minister; and there are questions of franchise and representation to be solved in the Colony and in the Protectorate. Yet he would be a rash man who said that political and economic advance are any less genuine in Sierra Leone than in its larger neighbours. The smallest of all, the Gambia, is only now starting on the final stage. The changes announced in August provide for an unofficial majority on the Executive Council for the first time and for the introduction of the title of Minister. The Legislative Council is to have 16 unofficial and five official members (previously eight and seven), two of the unofficial members of Executive Council will assume responsibility for certain subjects, and in view of the absence of full official staffs to advise the Minister, may have advisory committees to assist them. Thus the Gambia has embarked on the essential task of providing a proper political base for responsible government. In territories with such great variations it is extremely difficult to succeed in this, but success must be achieved if the present pace of advance is not to result in breakdown.

WORLD CLASS

THERE will be a general welcome for the news that the Gold Coast Co-operative Federation joined the International Co-operative Alliance in May. The Gold Coast Co-operative movement now stands forth as a highly developed, completely independent movement. As its own *Co-operative News* says, this affiliation 'raises the Gold Coast

movement from the confines of its territorial compass to a world class.' Egypt and Natal provide the only other affiliated organisations in Africa. The Gold Coast has once again demonstrated that by using the opportunities open to them, its people can join the rest of the world on a basis of equality.

FEDERATION NOW

THE battle for the postponement of Central African Federation has been lost, and efforts must now be directed to securing the application of the promised 'partnership' between the races. We do not hide our view that it is more difficult to do this now than it would have been after the Victoria Falls Conference of 1951 if the British Government had stuck to its guns. At the time, the Northern Rhodesian African representatives participating in the discussion on Federation asked for 'partnership' to be defined, and, as so defined, put into operation in their own territory. The discussions which should have followed did not take place until July of this year, when they were officially described as 'exploratory talks.' But the organisation and agitation of the last two years has had some effect. 'Partnership' is no longer a mere fetish, but a matter of practical politics.

The Northern Rhodesian Government has at long last abandoned its archaic colour bar in post offices, and discussion of the Copperbelt bar on African advance is taking a new tone of urgency. Northern Rhodesia has a further opportunity to implement promises when negotiations open again this month on constitutional changes. The British Government also has an opportunity to refuse a demand which was rejected under the Labour Government and which should not have been made again—namely, the conversion to freehold of Crown land leased by Europeans in Northern Rhodesia. Although such conversion would not affect African Trust land, it is precisely the kind of claim which is most likely to disturb African opinion at this crucial stage. Land is also an issue in Southern Rhodesia, where transfers under the Land Apportionment Act continue to take place. Southern Rhodesia still lags behind on the status of trade unions. This has been emphasised for years without result by the British Labour movement; perhaps more attention will be paid to Mr. Lyttelton's view on the subject as expressed on July 27 in the House of Commons.

Effective action must be taken to prevent African leaders swinging into racial politics. This they are beginning to do, partly as a result of pre-election discussions amongst the Europeans. Sir Godfrey Huggins launched his Federal Party in June, in alliance with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Malcolm Barrow, in the hope of avoiding 'unnecessary

party politics during the initial stages of the Federal Parliament.' But the hope was soon killed by Mr. Dendy Young of Southern Rhodesia, whose Confederate Party seems to reject even the 'senior partnership' so well known in Southern Rhodesia, and to prefer a more blatant 'apartheid' approach. This in turn has stimulated the formation of the Progressive Party, based on Northern Rhodesia, which believes that 'partnership' means the eventual acceptance of Africans on a basis of equality.

Meanwhile in Nyasaland non-co-operation continues and there have been one or two violent incidents and arrests of Congress leaders.¹ The only way to put a permanent stop to this campaign is to prove that Federation will in fact benefit the people, and that their fear that it would hinder their political development is unfounded. We have always shared their fear. We hope that events will prove us wrong.

FAIRY STORY

ONCE upon a time, far away in some islands beyond the sea, there lived a man who published a newspaper. It was not a printed newspaper and it appeared only once a week. It was not large, because there were not many more than 2,000 people living in the islands, so there was very little news. But it did carry advertisements and notices of functions, and any outspoken citizen could always write a letter for its columns if he had something he wanted to say. Then there came to the islands a Good Uncle who believed in Doing Things Properly. He bought up the newspaper and appointed an Information Officer to improve it. But the Information Officer did not do so—at least not for very long. He resigned, or sailed away (we don't know which) and no one came to take his place. In fact his place was abolished altogether. So now there is no newspaper of any kind, but only a broadcasting service (this is 'progress'). It tells the people the news once a week, and when things are going to happen. But the people have to remember all the dates as they are given, and they can't answer back to a radio set. Of course there is nothing to stop them starting another newspaper, but nobody has done so yet and it all seems rather sad.

We would have thought that this was a fairy story had it not been told in the House of Commons on July 22, 1953, by the Secretary of State, replying to Mr. James Johnson, M.P. It happened in the Falkland Islands.

¹ The Reverend Michael Scott and Dr. Hastings Banda are appealing for donations towards the defence of Chief Gomani. Gifts should be sent to Dr. Banda at 8, Aylestone Avenue, London, N.W.6.

The Golden City

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, has abandoned 'positive' for 'tactical' action. He is now advancing step by step towards 'the golden city' of independence. He will assuredly get there. He will get there because this is not a one-man progress, but a movement forward of the Gold Coast people which it is in nobody's interest to halt. There are some unpleasant features of political life in the Gold Coast, as in other countries. There are some very dangerous tendencies. But the cure for these is to be found in longer experience of responsibility, a deeper education of the electorate, a greater respect for individual and minority opinions. None of these can be obtained by merely prolonging outside control.

It is, in fact, the relaxation of control which is providing the people of the Gold Coast with a political education unsurpassed in Africa. From the Watson Report onwards, every constitutional step has been the subject of intense and prolonged discussion. The Coussey Committee ensured that this discussion should take place on the basis of sensible proposals embodied in a Report informed throughout with a spirit of progressive idealism. The civil service performed a remarkable administrative feat in the organisation of the elections. The Convention People's Party, having won, has preferred not to waste time in sterile and negative antics, but to get on with the job of government. Despite the blood and thunder of the platform and the press, the outstanding fact is that Dr. Nkrumah has maintained a united Government in power with the support of the Legislative Assembly (a mere glance at Nigeria reveals the value of this achievement), without any crisis arising in relations with officials or with the British Government. He now thinks it is time to pass on to what might be called the last stage of transition to self-government. On July 15 the Legislative Assembly backed his proposals with an overwhelming majority. The British Government will now be asked to make appropriate changes in the present constitution before the next election.

These changes will alter the character of the Council of Ministers by removing from it the *ex-officio* Ministers and appointing representative Ministers of Finance and the Interior. The Prime Minister will constitutionally (as in practice) be the leader of the majority party in the Assembly and will in future preside at Cabinet meetings and have the sole responsibility for allocating portfolios. The Governor, however, will not be a cipher. He is to have a special responsibility for the maintenance

of public order, and the Government's White Paper¹ makes no request for the removal of the Reserved Powers, which have not proved a barrier to constitutional advance.

These demands constitute the substance of internal self-government. They are accompanied by additional proposals for more democratic representation. It is suggested that the Legislative Assembly should be enlarged and should consist entirely of members elected directly by secret ballot. This would exclude the members at present returned through the Territorial Councils representing traditional authorities. It would also exclude the six special members who speak in the Assembly for commercial interests. Another notable proposal—which marks a change of heart in the Prime Minister—is for a salary of £1,500 for the Leader of the Opposition.

These proposals have not just come out of the blue. On October 16, 1952, the Prime Minister announced in the Legislative Assembly that the Government intended to submit proposals to the Secretary of State, and he appealed to interested bodies to send in their views. The statement was precise and detailed. It explained, for example, the functions of the three *ex-officio* Ministers and the implications of their replacement by representative Ministers, and then went on, 'It is for the Chiefs and people, bearing these implications in mind, to consider whether all or any of the *ex-officio* Ministers should be replaced by representative Ministers.' Point by point the alternatives were stated in this way. One hundred and thirty-one replies were submitted by the beginning of April. Then followed meetings between the Prime Minister and committees of the three Territorial Councils, the principal political parties and the Trades Union Congress. To the Northern Territories, where doubts arose on the pace of advance, the Prime Minister went together with the Governor. Finally, the Government put forward its own proposals, which have now been debated.

We recount this story because it reveals that the obligations of responsibility are understood. By contrast with some other West African leaders, Dr. Nkrumah has not been content with personal declarations or even party statements. Everything has been explained and time for informed comment has been given. Where there were doubts, these were fully discussed, apparently with some success, since Mr. Braimah, Minister of Communications and Works, who comes from the

¹ Published on June 20, 1953.

Northern Territories, seconded Dr. Nkrumah's motion when the Legislative Assembly debate opened on July 10. Where the Government did not accept suggestions sent in to it—as in the case of a second chamber—it has pointed out that if the demand persists the next Legislative Assembly can examine it again. It is the method of approach which has given strength to the Gold Coast demands. It is inconceivable that the British Government could reject them.

These are not, however, demands for independence, but for a transition stage. The British Government is also to be asked to 'introduce an Act of Independence into the United Kingdom Parliament declaring the Gold Coast a sovereign and independent state within the Commonwealth,' but Dr. Nkrumah did not say when. The Opposition naturally made capital out of this and moved an amendment that a Declaration of Independence should be made on March 6, 1954, but this was defeated. The Assembly preferred to ask that the Bill should be introduced in the United Kingdom 'as soon as the necessary constitutional and administrative arrangements are made.' Mr. Braimah having made it clear that the Northern Territories will want to consider their position again when that time comes. Clearly, it will have to be considered also in Togoland and by the United Nations.

It is not necessary to follow Dr. Danquah's erudite and fascinating (and entirely pertinent) constitutional argument to realise what independence will involve. The White Paper did not suggest the appointment of a representative Minister of Defence; external affairs and defence are to be the responsibility of the Governor. The significance of this has already been explained to the people in the statement of October 16:—

'If the Minister of Defence and External Affairs were replaced by a representative Minister, one implication would be that the Gold Coast was prepared to take over immediately full responsibility for its own defence; the main burden of our defence is borne by the armed naval, military and air forces of the Commonwealth. We possess a very small military force, and contribute only a proportion of the cost of it.

Another implication would be that the maintenance and protection of our external trade relations would cease to be the direct responsibility of the United Kingdom Government and would become our own concern. We should have to be responsible for our own direct representation in the foreign countries with which we trade, and be in a position to protect our trade with foreign countries from discriminatory practices.'

These things, even although it hopes to keep expatriate civil servants, the Gold Coast cannot yet do. The best plan now would be to concentrate on the changes required for the transition stage,

and it seems more than likely that this is precisely what the Gold Coast Government intends.

If this 'tactical' approach is to succeed, the most sincere understanding will have to be shown in this country. Dr. Nkrumah's speech in introducing his motion was remarkable for its spirit as well as its eloquence. He paid tribute not only to the Governor and the *ex-officio* Ministers, but also to British policy:—

'I am confident that with the support of this House, Her Majesty's Government will freely accede to our legitimate and righteous demand to become a self-governing unit within the Commonwealth.

I put my confidence in the willing acceptance of this demand by Her Majesty's Government, because it is consistent with the declared policy of successive United Kingdom Governments. *Indeed, the final transition from the stage of responsible government as a Colony to the independence of a sovereign state guiding its own policies is the apotheosis of this same British policy in relation to its dependencies.'*

This spirit is surely a guarantee that the Gold Coast hopes for a peaceful, friendly, transition. It must be given every possible encouragement. If it is in any danger, that danger comes not from the conduct of affairs in the Gold Coast, but from their conduct in other parts of Africa. The aims of British policy must be made effective in Central Africa and Kenya, and someone must try to persuade Dr. Malan to keep silence at least on the subject of the Gold Coast. Otherwise, anti-white feeling, which already has some propaganda value in the Gold Coast, may grow strong enough to embitter relations just when the most delicate issues present themselves for decision.

THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION

ON July 20 a deputation from the Bureau, led by Lord Faringdon, was received by the Right Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, M.P., at the Colonial Office. It went to discuss the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia, which has been the subject of correspondence and discussion with the Colonial Office since 1950.

The deputation submitted that the acceptance of Federation by the Northern Rhodesian legislature despite the adverse vote of all 4 representatives of African interests has emphasised the ineffectiveness of African representation in both Legislative and Executive Councils; and the predominance of European votes in the federal legislature and (as we expect) the total absence of African representation in the federal Cabinet have made it even more important than before that the territorial legislatures and Governments should adequately express African opinion.

The present position is that there are 10 Elected Members (all European) in the Legislative Council, two Europeans nominated to represent African interests, and two Africans chosen by the African Representative Council. The deputation asked that African representation should

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COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Pressure and Politics

The following extracts are taken from an account by the editor of the leading newspaper in the Bahamas of his visit to Britain for the Coronation.

"Did you go to the Colonial Office?" This, no doubt, will be one of the first questions I shall be expected to answer on my return to Nassau.

My answer is "No."

I kept as far as possible away from politics and politicians during my stay in Britain. After 34 years in active public life—over 20 as member of the House of Assembly—I still don't understand the ways of politics and politicians. This was my one chance to get away from it all—and I did. . . .

During my last visit to Britain—I was then the guest of the British Government and subject to its beck and call—I was summoned to the Colonial Office on several occasions. The Labour Government was then in office. I did all the talking. The officials listened politely. Occasionally there was a grunt that might have meant yes or no, or the arch of an eyebrow that might have meant anything or nothing at all. These may have only been professional gestures to keep me talking.

I finally arrived at the conclusion that Colonial Office officials place public men from overseas in two categories. They are either calculating politicians or idealistic fools—politicians who have a personal axe to grind or fools who haven't enough practical sense to grind a personal axe. The first group must be watched, the others may be politely dismissed and forgotten.

There were matters I could have discussed with the Colonial Office, of course, but since I had no personal axe to grind I stayed away and did not waste their time or mine.

There were times when I questioned whether I was shirking my duty by staying away, but my mind was put at ease the night I went to the Royal Tournament. I had seats in the royal enclosure just below the royal box. The Princess Royal represented the royal family at that night's performance. In the royal party were the Hon. Grantley Adams of Barbados and Miss Jeffreys of Trinidad—a black man and a black woman. . . .

I am returning home with a feeling that I did not need to go to the Colonial Office—that the people who are at the heart of this Commonwealth and Empire are sufficiently well informed to know that the present Governor of this Colony has brought into the life of this community a leavening influence which—if firmly established—will save the people of these islands the painful experiences that have seared many parts of the Empire in recent years. The Colonial Office must realise that the people who are trying to malign the Governor for introducing a grain of social justice into the life of the community—oh, yes, that's the real reason behind their campaign whatever other excuses may be advanced—haven't sufficient political intelligence to realise that his policies are serving

their own best interests. It is they who should be sustaining him . . . it is people like me who should be saying he hasn't done half enough by comparison with revolutionary changes that have been brought about in neighbouring British Colonies!

Not long ago I had occasion to warn that certain journalistic activities in this community would follow the pattern of a *late* newspaper in Jamaica. Political observers in Jamaica have told me that the policies of that newspaper hastened an upheaval in that Colony. A Royal Commission was the result. This produced radical constitutional reforms. A Labour Government, headed by Bustamante, was swept into power. Even Communism is threatening to establish a foothold. And today, I am told, "it is easier for a sinner to get out of hell than it is for a white man to secure election to the House of Assembly in Jamaica. . . ."

. . . I need not tell readers of this column that I am devoted to the British cause with all my heart and with all my soul. They know it. . . .

And so I grieve when I see—time and again—officials in Britain allowing themselves to be outwitted by political groups in the Colonies who have only selfish interests to serve and who have not a sufficient grasp of the age-old pattern of history to realise that, in this rapidly changing world, they are digging their own political graves. . . .

Etienne Dupuch, O.B.E.

Nassau Daily Tribune, June 27, 1953.

Victory for Nkrumah

'Our struggle for self-government and independence has been great and interesting. At long last we are just at the end of this tiresome and eventful journey. As far as we, the people and Chiefs of Ghana are concerned, we have done our part. We have finished the task. We have laid down our bayonets, though we have not stuck them into the earth. By positive and tactical action our generalissimo, Kwame Nkrumah, has felled British Imperialism which now lies prostrate in a pool of blood. What remains now for the defeated and moribund giant is to say formally to the people and Chiefs of Ghana through Kwame Nkrumah, "I surrender, Sir."

But the question now at issue is this, will this terribly battered giant which has already practically accepted defeat, agree to make history by proclaiming it? Opinions in Britain are already being formed; and once there is a strong public opinion in favour of surrender, the British Government would have no alternative but to hold out the white flag.'

Evening News, Accra, July 22, 1953.

National Unity

'We must make real sacrifices patiently to weld together our diverse cultural groups. . . . We must do so in complete sincerity, with mutual respect and tolerance, with our backs turned for ever to tribe and tribalism and partisanship and falsehood.'

The Hon. Eyo Ita, Nigeria, July, 1953.

TRUSTESHIP

Reports on the Trust Territories in the Pacific have been submitted to the Trusteeship Council by the Visiting Mission of 1953. Molly Mortimer comments on some of their more important features.

The Pacific Islands

In the old Japanese Mandated territory of the Marshalls, Carolines and Marianas, the United States is facing inevitable problems created by geographical factors. Nearly 2,000 islands, covering a land area of about 687 square miles, are set in nearly 3m. square miles of ocean. Add to this meagre resources and a diverse population, and administrative difficulties are at once apparent. Even six administrative centres and communications by sea and air have done little so far to unify a scattered and isolated population, with only local loyalties, and at varying stages of development. Lack of economic surplus makes the development of social services difficult, but a subsistence economy is feasible, and this kind of self-support is the sound aim of the administration.

The administration is less concerned with economic potential than with political advance and states that its greatest problem is that of political and social adjustment to the modern world. Any kind of unification poses insurmountable problems since even advanced Islanders point out (T.Pet.10/21) that the Marshalls have 'no more desire to be merged with Ponape than France with Germany,' and are friendly cousins of individual culture and ways of life. Although many people are glad to benefit economically from American aid, they are quite consistently opposed to the American desire that they should all become good citizens together.

New Guinea (T/1056)

In New Guinea, the difficulty of establishing human control over one of the wettest and most mountainous regions of the world makes the problem of agricultural and transport development almost insurmountable. There is 'excessive fragmentation' of human society; the village is the largest unit; in some areas there is continuous tribal warfare, and there is no common tongue. Probably more than 53 Melanesian tongues exist, and even a larger number of Papuan.

In view of these difficulties, the Visiting Mission 'could not help feeling that some of the discussions which have taken place on the political advancement of the indigenous people have been premature.' It was difficult even to imagine any territory-wide organisation, and exceedingly difficult to get qualified administrators to bring it about.

Any social, educational and political advances are directly dependent on economic development. But not only are the details of resources and economic potential still unknown, but most areas are still totally unaffected by modern crops and methods. Such advancement as exists is in the hands of

European planters. There is therefore little administrative control over development and profits are not ploughed back into the country. The Visiting Mission, while forcefully impressed by the tremendous tasks facing the administration, is still of the opinion that some overall economic plan should be adopted when the economic potential has been studied. The Australians, however, point out that development is impossible without capital. It is impossible to develop resources to build up a surplus for social services without encouraging European enterprise. 'We need to know more about the territory before we can formulate a plan . . . We prefer to develop plans as we go and as information and resources become available.'

Although this is a point of view which may displease long distance planners, it is probably the only practical possibility facing Australian or any other administration in the circumstances and it is evident that the Visiting Mission is increasingly cognisant of this fact.

Samoa (T/1057)

Owing to the statement of 19 March, 1953 on constitutional advancement, made by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the administering power, the Visiting Mission to Samoa has concentrated the bulk of its report on political questions. It found the statement, which proposes the holding of a representative Constitutional Convention to draw up a constitution, was welcomed principally by the progressive elements in the population, many of them from non-traditional groups. The small Samoan Democratic Party, founded in 1951, for example, welcomed the New Zealand suggestion of direct election by universal suffrage, which would if accepted give non-title-holders a fuller chance to participate in political life. The Mission, was, however, conscious that there is here a basic conflict with traditional concepts of representation, so that 'the members of the Constitutional Convention would be well advised to conduct their negotiations in a great spirit of compromise and with the willingness to make concessions, so that a legislative structure may be found which not only will be able to express fully the corporate will of the people, but will be flexible enough to permit those adjustments to be made which the changing economic, social and educational situations may require.'

These changes will be considerable. The administering power is praised for its draft local government legislation, its new Co-operative Societies Ordinance, the extension of education and of recruitment of Samoans to the civil service, but in every case there is far to go, and the Mission felt that 'there existed some cleavage between political aspirations and economic realities' and that 'the Samoans were enjoying their existing prosperity with little regard to the future and showed few signs of desiring to develop their economy beyond the level of present production.' It was notable that the European

minority, most of whom are part Samoan, did not appear to fear discrimination in the prospective Samoan State, and that 'a spirit of great harmony seemed to prevail among all sections of the Samoan population regardless of their legal status.'

Nauru

The Visiting Mission to the Pacific spent three days in Nauru. It noted the economic prosperity of all sections of the population (European, Naurean, Chinese, Gilbert and Ellice Islanders) and observed that such a high standard of life and services 'exceeds by far those of other countries of this size.'

The Visiting Mission pointed out that although phosphate production, from which all blessings flow, is now above pre-war level, it is a wasting asset, and likely to be exhausted in 70 years at the present rate of production. It will not be possible to maintain the present standard of life. This fact should be faced early and adjustments made without further social complications. Since Nauru can 'in no case be regarded as a potential State,' some sort of re-settlement should be envisaged either by individual or group action in some other part of the Pacific, New Guinea or Australia, and this plan should be carried out through the aid of royalties from the Phosphate Commission.

SLAVERY

In April, 1953, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations discussed Slavery. It was attended by C. W. W. Greenidge, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, from whose statement 'Slavery in the Twentieth Century'¹ the following details are taken.

Slavery, as defined by the 1926 Slavery Convention, to which 44 states have adhered, is 'a status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the rights of ownership are exercised.' The last official pronouncement on the existence of the legal status of slavery was in the Report of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Slavery for 1938, which stated:

'There is no evidence to suggest that outside Africa and Arabia there are still any born slaves . . . In Africa . . . there is no reason for disquietude concerning any of the colonies of the European Powers. In most of them slavery in any form has ceased to exist, in some it lingers on, without legal status as a social tie. Even as such it is dying rapidly and painlessly.'

In 1942 it was abolished in Ethiopia, but it is not known whether or not the law is effective. The legal status of slavery still exists in Arabia, where under Moslem law the slave-owner's rights are considerably limited. It has been abolished in the Colony of Aden, but there are still remnants in the Aden Protectorate, where 'the harsh environment' renders slaves 'unwilling to change their status.' In the Quaiti and Kathiri States of the Protectorate

the selling of slaves is forbidden and any slave has the right to obtain manumission on application. Mr. Greenidge estimates that the number of slaves in Arabia does not exceed 750,000.

Debt-bondage, peonage, the sham-adoption of children to exploit their labour, and acquisition of wives by payment of bride-price are still widespread in Africa, Asia and South America. Mr. Greenidge recommends that the United Nations should declare all three to be slavery and prohibited, and should define serfdom and prohibit it. He also suggests certain transition measures to the abolition of slavery where it still exists, such as help for emancipated slaves to establish themselves in the free economy.

A footnote to this statement is provided by Mr. Greenidge, who reports that the Economic and Social Council decided that the United Nations should ask all its members and non-members to agree to the United Nations assuming the functions of the League of Nations under the Slavery Convention of 1926, and to approve of a supplementary Slavery Convention being prepared to supply the deficiencies of the 1926 Convention. Since the experts met, Kuwait and Qatar have abolished the legal status of slavery. The Government of Bolivia has made land available to 2½ m. Indians (Aborigines) who have hitherto been living in a state of serfdom on the land of immigrant Spanish landowners.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Colin Hughes comments below on the 'Special Study on Economic Conditions and Development in Non-self-governing Territories.'¹

This 400-page supplement forms part of the annual series of Green Books compiled by the United Nations Secretariat from information submitted by the administering powers. It contains a monumental amount of information drawn from all the non-self-governing territories, held together by a non-controversial commentary and exposition. After dealing with the basic premises of development programmes, the Study surveys agriculture, fisheries, forestry, credit and marketing, land policies, industrialisation, mining and transport.

As is always the case, the detail varies considerably from territory to territory, but the report is excellent as a reference work, and should provide responsible officials in the Colonies with an opportunity to keep abreast of developments elsewhere, otherwise lost in reports which are not circulated or are unreadable in a foreign language. A few general observations stand out: the extent to which all development schemes date from 1940, the way in which certain territories, Puerto Rico being a notable example, are forging ahead of their neighbours, and the multitude of organisations which have sprung up in the last few years to promote welfare and development.

¹ The Anti-Slavery Society, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

¹ United Nations Publication Sales No. 1952. VI. B. 2 (22/6)

BRITISH GUIANA UPPER HOUSE

The new British Guiana constitution marks a departure from normal practice in the Colonies by the creation of a Second Chamber. There is a House of Assembly consisting of a Speaker, three *ex-officio* Members and 24 Elected Members. There is also a State Council of nine Members. Following are details of the method of appointment:

The Order-in-Council¹ provides for the appointment of nine Members as follows:

32—(1) of the nine Members—

- (a) two shall be appointed by the Governor in accordance with the recommendation of the six Ministers elected by the House of Assembly; the making of a recommendation to the Governor shall be the first duty of such Ministers after their election;

Provided that if the Ministers fail (whether after their election or after the occurrence of a vacancy in respect of the seat of a Member of the State Council appointed under this paragraph) within such time as the Governor, acting in his discretion, considers reasonable, to recommend a person or persons for appointment, the Governor may, acting in his discretion, after consultation with the Ministers, make an appointment or appointments, as the case may require;

- (b) one shall be appointed by the Governor, acting in his discretion, after consultation with such Elected Members or groups of Elected Members or with both such Members and groups as, in his opinion, constitute the minority in the House of Assembly;
- (c) thereafter, six shall be appointed by the Governor, acting in his discretion:

Provided that the Governor shall not appoint, under this paragraph, any person who has unsuccessfully sought election to the House of Assembly at or since the immediately preceding general election of Elected Members to that Chamber.

Under Section 37, questions of membership of the State Council are to be determined by the Governor acting in his discretion.

The Governor announced the names of nine nominees on May 23. The two Members recommended by the Ministers are members of the Peoples Progressive Party.

The six appointed by the Governor under Section 32 (1) (c) include the Archbishop of the West Indies; an ex-member of the old Legislative Council; and three ex-members of Legislative Council, all nominated members, one of whom has also served as a nominated member in Executive Council. Of the last three, Mr. W. A. Macnie, C.M.G., is a Guianese who formerly served as Colonial Secretary of the Leeward Islands and is now manager of the

Sugar Producers' Association. Mr. W. J. Raatgever may also be expected, as a past President of the Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, to speak for commercial interests. The sixth member is Mr. E. F. McDavid, C.M.G., C.B.E., a Guianese recently retired from the Colonial Service, with 29 years' experience in the Legislative Council.

There is some controversy over the appointment of Mr. P. A. Cummings, a defeated candidate in the election, under Section 32 (1) (b). While the Order-in-Council prohibits the appointment of a defeated candidate as one of 'the Governor's six,' there is no prohibition in the case of a person appointed after consultation with minority groups in the House of Assembly.

BARBADOS PEASANT LOANS

Barbados established a Peasants' Loan Bank in 1936, with funds voted from time to time by the legislature. The Bank has a Board consisting of the Director of Agriculture, one member appointed by the Legislative Council, two appointed by the House of Assembly and one member appointed by the Agricultural Society of the Island. Short term loans make provision for carrying on the cultivation of holdings, and long term loans repayable over seven years assist the owner to complete the purchase of his holding, to irrigate his land or to purchase livestock.

By the middle of 1952 a total of 6,151 loans had been granted, of which 1,100 were still in operation.

A total of 51 irrigation schemes have been installed through the co-operation of the Bank. Half the cost is met from Colonial Development and Welfare, and the rest in the proportion of 20-25 per cent deposit by the peasant owner and 25-30 per cent loan by the Bank.

(Continued from page 4)

be increased to equal that of the Elected Members, as requested by the African Members themselves. The existing common roll is open to British subjects only: the deputation asked that it should be opened to British-protected persons. The deputation asked that African representation in the Executive Council should be increased, and that at least one of these representatives should be African. It emphasised most strongly that it was undesirable to alter the constitutional position of the Executive Council, or to increase the representation of Elected Members (at present 3) in it, or to increase the number of portfolios held by the latter (at present 2). Any attempt to establish a European-dominated Executive with the powers of a Cabinet should be resisted. The deputation added that these suggestions were made for the immediate situation only, and that in its view the aim of policy in Northern Rhodesia should be a fully democratic system of government, but that meanwhile any weakening of official influence in the territory would not benefit the Africans, but would rather increase the power of the minority at present dominant in politics.

¹ Statutory Instruments 1953 No. 586, British Guiana (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1953.

CORRESPONDENCE

Informing U.N.O.

Dear Sir,—There are points in Miss Mortimer's article *Informing U.N.O.* (*Venture*, July, 1953) which require amplification.

Miss Mortimer deals with the extension of information supplied under Article 73e by the metropolitan powers. She omits to mention that the United Kingdom has worked with the United Nations in expanding the Standard Form and in making available a wide range of information on economic and social conditions.

She also refers to the Special Committee set up by the General Assembly and to the fact that this Committee examines information on measures taken to implement General Assembly resolutions. In this context 'information' means such information as is supplied by the Administering Powers. In referring to the renewal of this Committee for three years in 1952 she might have noted that this renewal followed and was influenced by a declaration from the United Kingdom promising co-operation on condition that the renewal should be so limited. It is also significant that the principal reports adopted by the Committee in the last years on economic, social and educational conditions were supported by all members with the exception of the Soviet Union.

Miss Mortimer states that the General Assembly expressed the hope that visiting missions would be invited to non-self-governing areas outside the purview of the Trusteeship Council. Actually, a resolution to this effect was withdrawn by its author in 1950 after an explanation of the attitude of the Administering Powers.

These points add up to the conclusion that there is more effective collaboration within the United Nations than a reading of Miss Mortimer's article would suggest; that in addition, there is a world-wide feeling against colonialism, a reflection of realities which Britain cannot ignore.

Mr. Kenneth Younger put this as follows in an address to the Royal Empire Society on January 22: 'The price of maintaining some common front between the West and Asia is for the West to adopt a forthcoming attitude on the whole colonial issue. By "forthcoming" I mean, first, that our colonial administration must be beyond reproach so that we must appreciate that serious racial frictions of any kind, whether in a colony or elsewhere, have the gravest international implications and cannot therefore be treated as though they were a matter of purely domestic concern. Thirdly, that we should recognise that as the political consciousness of backward peoples grows and their demand for racial equality becomes more insistent a new formula must be found if desperate situations are to be avoided.'

Yours faithfully,
J. B.

(Miss Mortimer writes: Never for one moment would I deny the admirable and patient co-operation of the United Kingdom in the work of the Special Committee and the Assembly. I did not suggest that this co-opera-

tion was not forthcoming, or that Britain was blind to the 'world-wide feelings against colonialism.' British delegates have, however, maintained steadily that there is nothing in the Charter to make the United Kingdom accountable to the United Nations in respect of non-self-governing territories as distinct from Trust Territories.)

Meat for Africans

Sir,—Those who criticise European settlement in East Africa may be interested in a new development about 45 miles from here.

A group of sisal estates is opening up a cattle ranch to provide meat for several thousand African employees and their dependents. This area is infested by tsetse fly and there is no surface water—two factors which render this land useless to Africans, who have left it unused at least since the time of Vasco da Gama. The sisal syndicate have to clear selectively the trees and bush to get rid of the tsetse, and have the co-operation of the Tsetse Research Department in this work. Then they have to develop boreholes and dams to provide sufficient water. They have to fence and paddock the land into smaller areas so as to be able to control the grazing. Then they have to plough parts of the area and re-seed to better pasture grasses. Then they have to get the right type of cattle to stand the local conditions, and to provide staff skilled in managing and feeding them. Such a project requires European enterprise, skill and capital, plus energy and drive.

When in full running order it is expected that the ranch will provide up to 1,000 head of slaughter cattle per month for African employees. These at present get one kilo (2.2 lbs.) of meat per head per week, and the scheme will allow a more liberal ration. The African employees don't have to buy their ration out of their wages, it is part of their wages in kind. They LIKE meat and (at present) are more gratified with good meat than worried about political advance.

Yours faithfully,
Tanga, Tanganyika. H. Beer.

For your diary

Labour Party Conference meeting

COLONIAL CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN

September 27, 2.30 p.m., Pioneer Hall, Clarendon Road, Margate. *Chairman:* Lord Faringdon. *Speakers:* Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P., F. W. Dalley (T.S.S.A.), Dr. Rita Hinden, James M. Peddie (C.W.S.), and R. W. Sorensen, M.P.

Week-end School

COMMONWEALTH FUTURE

A week-end school on October 23-25 at Beatrice Webb House, Pasture Wood, Surrey. *Director:* Eirene White, M.P. *Speakers:* Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P., Lord Listowel, and Hilary Marquand, M.P. (Further details from the Fabian Society, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.)

Parliament

Chinese Schools in Malaya. Mr. Awbery asked whether the Secretary of State would make a statement on the effect of the new Education Ordinance of the Federation of Malaya on Chinese schools in view of the apprehension that Chinese schools were to be closed down and that Chinese teachers were to be thrown out of employment. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the object of the Ordinance was to make better provision for education and that it contained no provision for throwing Chinese teachers out of employment or closing Chinese schools. (June 17, 1953.)

Colonial Judges. Sir H. Williams asked whether the attention of the Secretary of State had been drawn to the decision of the Lord Chief Justice in the case of Mr. A. Tyrell to the effect that colonial judges were not protected against the executive and whether, in view of this, he would consider introducing legislation to give colonial judges the same protection as the judges in the United Kingdom. In reply Mr. Lyttelton said that he did not agree that the judgment in question had the effect that colonial judges were not protected against the executive. He considered that colonial judges were amply protected and secure in their offices and that legislation for this purpose was unnecessary. He also doubted whether legislation would be practicable. (July 1, 1953.)

African's Death in Kenya. Mr. Hastings asked whether the Secretary of State would make a further statement on the case of Elijah Njaru Gideon who died on January 29 as a result of beating; why the two Askaris who carried out the beating under orders were not called as witnesses at the enquiry; how many persons, white or black, had been charged in connection with the death of this man; and what charges had been made against them. Mr. Lyttelton said that two Europeans, an officer of the Kenya Police Reserve and a Warrant Officer of the Kenya regiment had been charged with manslaughter in this case. The African Askaris involved had now given full statements, and it was proposed to call them as Crown witnesses. (July 1, 1953.)

Labour Ordinance in Kenya. Mr. H. Hynd asked whether, in view of the report published by the International Labour Office on June 23, in which it was stated that the Voluntarily Unemployed Persons Ordinance in Kenya could be applied, although it appeared that it was at present not being applied, in such a way as to result in a system of forced labour, he would now abolish that Ordinance. Mr. Lyttelton replied that it was a temporary law renewable annually and he had no doubt the observations of the Committee would receive consideration from the Kenya Legislature when the Ordinance was again due for renewal. He, himself, proposed to take no action. (July 1, 1953.)

Forced Labour in Colonial Territories. Mr. H. Hynd asked how far British colonial territories were included in the list of 24 countries reported by the

International Labour Organisation's Committee as still having a system of forced labour. Mr. Lyttelton said that the Committee had found no evidence of the existence of systems of forced labour in any of the territories for whose international relations Her Majesty's Government was responsible. (July 8, 1953.)

Central African Federation. Mrs. White asked by whose authority provincial and district commissioners in Nyasaland were instructed, on or before May 10, to inform the local population that Federation had then been decided upon or that it was certain that the law-making Federation in fact would be passed at the Third Reading by the British Parliament, when the Enabling Bill had not at that time reached the Committee stage in the House of Commons and had not been considered in the House of Lords. In reply, Mr. Lyttelton said that after the Federation Bill had been read a second time on May 6, the Nyasaland Government instructed Provincial Administrations to make it known that Federation had been decided on and to urge all communities to get together with the sincere intention to make the Scheme work for the greatest possible good of Nyasaland. The Governor had asked him to convey to the House his regret for this anticipation of the decision of Parliament. He also regretted that, *Hansard* not being available, Mr. Attlee had been misquoted as saying, 'Now that it has been decided upon by Her Majesty's Government' instead of 'If this becomes the law of the land.' Mr. Lyttelton added that he felt sure the House would accept this frank expression of regret for this misinterpretation of the meaning of a Second Reading. He also hoped that Mr. Attlee would accept that the instructions were in full accord, as they were certainly meant to be, with the spirit of the wise words with which he had ended his speech on Second Reading. (July 1, 1953.)

District Councils in Togoland. Mr. Sorensen asked how many District Councils had been established in Togoland; whether they were working satisfactorily; and whether the election for the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs had now been concluded. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the Northern section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship fell within the areas of four district councils which had been established last year. They were working satisfactorily. In the Southern section, two out of three District Councils had recently been established. The Joint Council for Togoland Affairs was not yet reconstituted. A joint statement issued by the British and French Administering Authorities on June 12 had invited the views of the population on methods of doing that. (July 1, 1953.)

Kenya Coffee Co-operatives. In reply to Mr. Frank Beswick, the Secretary of State said that, out of the £10,000 loaned to African farmers in Kenya for the purchase of capital equipment, £2,000 had been loaned to coffee co-operatives. (July 8, 1953.)

Guide to Books

The Gold Coast Revolution

By George Padmore. (Dennis Dobson, 12s. 6d.)

Perhaps the most significant thing about this instructive but exasperating book is Mr. Padmore's recognition that there has been a 'bloodless revolution' in the Gold Coast, that 'a new awakening is sweeping the land. The watchword is Freedom.' Unlike the orthodox Communists such as Palme Dutt, he does not attempt to maintain that post-war political changes in the Gold Coast are merely another manoeuvre of a discredited British Imperialism. He admits that something has happened: 'few dependent territories have achieved so much in so short a time.' But if the evidence of his own eyes, gained during his visit to the Gold Coast in 1951, has forced Mr. Padmore to this reluctant admission, he of course depicts the whole sequence of events by which this state of affairs has come about as one in which British Imperialists, avidly seeking by all possible methods to retain the substance of power, are defeated by an insurgent tide of nationalism sweeping all before it. No credit is given to British policy in general, or to the Labour Governments of 1945-51 in particular, who were responsible for the appointment of the Coussey Committee, the acceptance of its recommendations, the decision to implement the new constitution in spite of Nkrumah's 'Positive Action' campaign, and to accept the results of the elections and try to work the new constitution with a party and a leader publicly committed to the opinion that it was 'bogus and fraudulent.' Although he candidly and rather oddly talks of the 'mutual trust' and 'friendly relation' (p. 121) established between the Governor and Dr. Nkrumah, he characteristically explains that this was brought about because 'British imperial proconsuls are obliged to be realists and their experience has taught them when is the moment to adjust their policies in the face of stronger forces. Thus it was not out of love for Dr. Nkrumah's captivating smile but *in order to avoid a constitutional crisis* that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke consulted Dr. Nkrumah in drawing up his list of Ministers' (p. 171). The implications of this admission that British Imperialists may be, even in so critical a situation for their survival, actuated by the desire to avoid a 'constitutional crisis' are significant.

On the positive side, Mr. Padmore's book is valuable not only for biographical information about leading Gold Coast personalities, and the texts of various party programmes and statements but, more importantly, for its entirely correct emphasis on the fact that there is a long history of nationalism in the Gold Coast (though it is surely stretching language to see its origins in the Ashanti Confederacy) and for its insistent attempt to relate the political history of the Gold Coast to its changing social structure. The Gold Coast 'Revolution' was the outcome not only of Dr. Nkrumah's capacity to organise the emergent, partially westernised, socially uprooted 'young men'—the 'veranda boys' and 'riff-raff' as some upper-

class Africans are said (p. 116) to have described them—but also of the typical failure of the British to realise the isolation of the well-to-do conservative intelligentsia and the chiefs with whom they were accustomed to co-operate. Mr. Padmore here focuses attention on an issue of vital practical importance elsewhere, especially where social and economic change is proceeding apace.

Much of this book is distorted by its author's monolithic conception of 'British Imperialism.' Space permits only a few instances of such distortions. To describe Sir Ofori Atta as a 'lackey' is, to say the least, a grotesque exaggeration while less than justice is done to the vital importance of the Coussey Committee in producing a document which was not only 'moderate' but so cogently argued and so well written that it at once took rank as an outstanding British State Paper and constituted in itself a major argument for self-government. The assertion that Joseph Chamberlain instructed Governor Maxwell to withdraw the land legislation of 1897 because 'Imperialist though he was, he realised that the climate in West Africa . . . was not conducive to permanent white colonisation' (p. 38) with its implication that the object of the legislation was to facilitate white settlement can only be described as fantastic. On the contrary, the object was to put a stop to the unregulated transfer by the chiefs of so-called 'concessions' to European mining interests, a process the results of which are rightly castigated elsewhere (p. 209) in Mr. Padmore's book. It is all the more important that this book should be read and pondered by those concerned with the relations of Britain and Africa, for it will assuredly be regarded as revealed truth by many Africans who will shape the future. The need for a more objective account of the last sixty or seventy years of Gold Coast history is urgent.

Historian.

Black Man's Town

By Isobel Ryan. (Jonathan Cape, 15s.)

Mrs. Ryan, having set down her impressions of primitive West Africa in *Black Man's Country*, has now spent two years in a town—presumably Takoradi. Her observation is as acute and detailed as ever, and the two years were spent at the crucial turning-point of black-white relations on the Gold Coast. The Ryans arrived just before the 'positive action' of 1950, and the book closes with Kwame Nkrumah in office. It was a difficult period for both sides, and it is from the 'white' side that Mrs. Ryan writes.

There is nothing extraordinary or unfamiliar in the story. Mrs. Ryan is not a Forster to endow it with greatness, but it is useful to have a record of the small irritations, the minor cruelties and the inefficiencies and corruptions of life in West Africa. 'Africans have no real stamina or impetus—only fits of emotion'; 'The Club is not what it was . . . Africans wanting membership . . . very upsetting really . . . If they get in the place is finished'—these on the

European side. Amongst the Africans—'Go home Missus! We no want you at all,' with a guilty giggle, from children in the street, and the aggressive protest of neighbouring servants who insisted on using the Ryan compound as a short-cut to the main road; 'This is our country and we go where we wish. In Ghana we are free to tread our own soil. You have no right to tell us where to walk!' If this were the whole of life in a Gold Coast town the future would be black indeed, but it is worth remembering as one aspect that has been and is being seen by many of the middle and lower ranks of Africans and Europeans along the whole coast.

There were also, of course, the small successes, the work well done, the clerk who was not corrupt, the boss who was flexible. Mrs. Ryan excels herself in the most important chapter in her book, 'An Office by the Harbour,' in which she details the essential steps in starting a new enterprise. Here, in her quotation from an application for a secretarial post the whole West African situation is epitomised: 'I wish to be able to typewrite but do not have a machine. If I may be favoured with the position I shall learn all that you require for I have a bright head.'

Marjorie Nicholson.

SHORT NOTICES

Economic Conditions Affecting Social Policy in Plantations by R. Roux (International Labour Office, 9d.) This reprint of an article from the *International Labour Review* is an excellent analysis of the economic factors, mostly external, which must be taken into account when considering social questions such as wage levels, stability of employment, payments in kind, etc. Most plantation production being governed by dependence on external markets and on external capital and organisation, and the markets themselves being 'dominated by governments just as much as by the companies themselves,' the conclusion is drawn that 'social policy on plantations is beyond the scope of national legislation and can be effective only if it is conceived and implemented within the framework of the international economic systems to which the plantations belong.'

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Nigerian Crownbird Series. (Public Relations Department, Lagos, 2d. each.) Short elementary pamphlets for popular consumption written by local authors, including such titles as *Our Palm Oil Industry*, *Our Council of Ministers*, *Our Folklore and Fables*, *Our Forests*. Readable and instructive.

Nigerian Eastern Regional Public Relations Office Pamphlets (Enugu). These might well be copied in some other Colonies with less effective information services. *An Intelligent Man's Guide to the Census and Local Government* give simple explanations of what might otherwise be widely regarded as unintelligible administrative exercises.

The Immediate Task: A Statement on the Nigerian Political and Constitutional Crisis. (Nigeria Union, 15, Priory Avenue, London, N.8. 6d.) A well-written, extremely sensible statement, which should be read by students of the internal politics of Nigeria.

Economics of Agriculture in a Savannah Village. by M. R. Haswell (Colonial Research Studies No. 8, H.M. Stationery Office, 15s.). This report on three years' study in a Gambia village covers social organisation and labour resources, natural resources and productivity. Profusely documented with tables and appendices. For those interested in economic development in peasant areas, the most interesting—and indeed, essential—chapters are the last two: *Some Conclusions on the Native Farming and on Social Changes* and *Note on Mechanisation*.

ERROR

We regret that in our February, 1953 number we stated that the Federation of Uganda African Farmers had applied for registration under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance. In August Sir Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, stated at the inaugural meeting of the Uganda Co-operative Development Council in Kampala that the Federation had agreed that their groups should join the registered movement separately, but none had registered.

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